

Message Text

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ACTION INR-07

INFO OCT-01 EUR-12 IO-10 ISO-00 ACDA-05 ERDA-05 AF-06

ARA-06 CIAE-00 DODE-00 EA-07 PM-04 H-02 L-03 NASA-01

NEA-10 NSAE-00 NSC-05 OIC-02 SP-02 PA-01 PRS-01

OES-03 SS-15 USIA-06 SAJ-01 NRC-05 OMB-01 MC-02 /123 W

----- 103075

R 181310Z AUG 75

FM AMEMBASSY BELGRADE

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 3874

INFO AMEMBASSY ATHENS

AMEMBASSY ROME

USMISSION GENEVA

UDBISSION IAEA VIENNA 2945

USMISSION USUN NEW YORK

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E.O. 11652 GDS

TAGS: PARM YO

SUBJECT: YUGOSLAV POLICY TOWARD THE NPT

REF : STATE 187852

SUMMARY: BRIEF ANSWER TO TWO QUESTIONS POSED REFTEL
IS FIRST THAT YUGOSLAVS DO NOT INTEND WITHDRAW FROM
NPT IN IMMEDIATE FUTURE, BUT SECOND THAT THEY HAVE
ALREADY LAUNCHED MAJOR EFFORT AMONG NON-ALIGNED TO
EXERT GREATER PRESSURE ON NUCLEAR WEAPONS STATES.
DEEP YUGOSLAV CONCERN THAT THE PROMISE OF NPT HAS NOT
BEEN FULFILLED AND THAT THEIR OWN SECURITY IS INCREAS-
INGLY THREATENED IN A NUCLEAR PROLIFERATING WORLD HAS
LED TO RE-EXAMINATION THEIR POSITION. NATURE OF THEIR
CONCERN AND POLICY CONCLUSCRNS THEY HAVE REACHED
TO DATE DISCUSSED BY MINIC'S DISARMAMENT ADVISER WITH
DCM IN AUG 15 CALL. END SUMMARY.

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1. DCM CALLED ON COL (RET.) KRIVOKAPIC, ADVISER TO THE

SECRETARY FOR DISARMAMENT AFFAIRS, FSFA TO EXPLORE IN DETAIL YUGOSLAV THINKING ON NPT. AS WE BELIEVE KRIVOKAPIC'S COMMENTS UNUSUALLY REVEALING NOT JUST ON NPT BUT ON TOTAL YUGOSLAV APPROACH TO THEIR SECURITY WE SET FORTH BELOW IN SOME DETAIL.

2. KRIVOKAPIC STATED YUGOSLAV DELEGATION AT REVIEW CONFERENCE SHARPLY CRITICAL INADEQUACIES IN NPT AS CONTINUATION OF PRESENT SITUATION WILL LEAD MANY COUNTRIES TO CONSIDER ACQUIRING NUCLEAR WEAPONS. YUGOSLAVIA NOT A NUCLEAR STATE AND DOES NOT PLAN BECOME ONE ALTHOUGH IT HAS REQUISITE TECHNOLOGY AND SCIENTIFIC KNOWLEDGE. YUGOSLAVIA AMONG FIRST TO SIGN NPT, BUT NO LONGER POSSIBLE HOPE IT WILL ACHIEVE NUCLEAR DISARMAMENT AS NUCLEAR WEAPONS STATES HAVE CINTINUED INCREASE NUMBER AND DESTRUCTIVE POWER OF THEIR WEAPONS. SALT NEGOTIATIONS HOPEFUL BEGINNING BUT YUGOSLAVIA WOULD LIKE SEE CONCRETE RESULTS. INSTEAD SALT IS ACCEPTING A HIGH-HYVEL OF NUCLEAR ARMAMENT. CRITICISM FOR THIS MUST BE DIRECTED AT SOVIET UNION AS WELL AS UNITED STATES. IN ADDITION INCREASE IN NUMBER NUCLEAR STATES IN RECENT YEARS HAS BOTH HEIGHTENEN INTEREST IN NUCLEAR DISARMAMENT COMPLICATED ITS ACHIEVEMENT AND INCREASED THE DANGERS.

3. IN RESPONSE QUESTION WHQVGOY HAD ANNOUNCED IT IS REASSESSING RELATIONSHIP TO NPT, KRIVOKAPIC STATED PERHAPS " REASSESSMENT" MISCONSTRUES SERBO-CROATIAN TERM "PREISPITATI" WHICH GOY USES. IT MOR GOY INTENTIONHJO CHANGE COURSE BUT TO ANALYZE SITUATION: SHOULD IT FIND AFTER DETAILED DISCUSSION THAT NPT DOES NOT FULFILL ITS NEEDS IT WILL CONSIDER AS A FINAL STEP WITHDRAWAL FROM NPT. BUT KRIVOKAPIC EMPHASIZED YUGOSLAVIA WOULD NOT WITHDRAW FROM NPT IF TREATY ACCOMPLISHES ITS GOALS PREVENTING HORIZONTAL AND VERTICAL PROLIFERATION OF NUCLEAR WEAPONS, PROMOTES DISARMAMENT AND TRANSFER OF NUCLEAR TECHNOLOGY FOR PEACEFUL PURPOSES. BUT IF AFTER A FEW MORE YEARS THESE GOALS NOT REALIZED GOY MIGHT HAVE TO CONSIDER ABROGATION. HE NOTED THAT AT PRESENT A NUMBER OF COUNTRIES HAVE THE TECHNOLOGY FOR QUICKLY ACQUIRING NUCLEAR WEAPONS CAPABILITY, E.G., JAPAN, THE FRG,

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ITALY, BRAZIL AND ARGENTINA. CHINA APPEARS PREPARED TO SELL NUCLEAR TECHNOLOGY. INDIA HAS ACQUIRED NUCLEAR CAPABILITY FOR PEACEFUL PURPOSES BUT IT COULD EASILY DIVERT THIS TECHNOLOGY TO MILITARY APPLICATIONS IN THE FUTURE. THE POINT HAS BEEN REACHED THAT INTERNATIONAL HERALD TRIBUNE RECENTLY WROTE THAT TWO OR THREE KNOWLEDGEABLE PERSONS COULD BUILD THEIR OWN ATOMIC BOMB. IT ITALY BUILDS THEIR OWN ATOMIC BOMB. IF ITALY BUILDS

TWENTY NUCLEAR REACTORS AS PART OF ITS PROGRAM TO DEVELOP NUCLEAR ENERGY SOURCES, WHO WILL CONTROL HOW THEY ARE USED? ALTHOUGH THE LDC'S ARE NOT DEVELOPING NUCLEAR JWEAPONS, EACH TIME THERE IS A NEW NUCLEAR PROLIXKRATON A WAVE OF HYSTERIA RUNS THROUGH THEM.

4. KRIVOKAIC STATED YUGOSLAVIA'S PRIMARY CONCERN IS SECURITY. IT SIGNED NPT AND IT HAS RIGHT TO DEMAND ASSURANCES FROM NWS THAT THEY WILL NOT USE THEIR NUCLEAR WEAPONS ON YUGOSLAVIA. SOVIETS TRY TO AVOID THEI SUBJECT, HE SAID. THEIR POSITION IS THAT THE WARSAW PACT PROVIDES ITS MEMBERS SECURITY AGAINST NUCLEAR ATTACK. THE SOVIETS TELL THE YUGSLAVS THAT IF THEY WANT SECURITY AGAINST NUCLEAR WEAPONS, THE SHOULD JOIN THE WARSAW PACT. BUT, AUSTRIA AND SWEDEN ARE NOT MEMBERS OF MILITARY BLOCS, AND NIEIGHTER IS YUGOSLAVIA. GIVE US GUARANTEES THAT YOU WILL NOT ATTACK US WITH YOUR NUCLEAR WEAPONS UNTIL WE HAVE DISARMAMENT, HE URGED. DCM POINTED OUT THAT POSSIBILITY US WOULD EMPLOY NUCLEAR WEAPONS IN A MILITARY CONFRONTATION COULD ALSO BE HELPFUL TO NON-NATO COUNTRIES. KRIVOKAPIC STATE ULTIMATELY NUCLEAR WEAPONS TO REDUCE SECURITY OF OTHER COUNTRIES. THAT IS WHY YUGOSLAVIA ENVISAGES THE DISINTEGRATION OF MILITARY BLOCS AS THE FIRST STEP TOWARD DISARMAMENT.

DCM RAISED SECRETARY MINIC'S RECENT REFERENCE TO YUGOSLAV INIATIVES FOR CONVENING WORLD DISARMAMENT

CONFERENCE. KRIVOKAPIC SAID THAT THE IDEA IS NOT NEW. GOY WANTS TO CREATE THE CONDITIONS FOR CONVENING A WORLD DISARMAMENT CONFERENCE ALTHOUGH IT HAS NO TIMETABLE IN MIND. GOY WILL SEEK THE AGREEMENT OF THE NON-ALIGNED FOREIGN MINISTERS IN LIMA TO PLACE THE QUESTION ON THE UNGA AGENDA THIS FALL. POSSIBLE CONFERENCE COULD BE SUBJECT

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OF A FIVE TO SIX DAY SPECIAL SESSION NEXT YEAR, IN WHICH MILITARY QUESTIONS, CONFERENCE AGENDA, DATES, AND METHODS WOUDL BE DISCUSSED. ASKED WHICH HE THOUGHT MORE LIKELY TO COME FIRST, KRIVOKAPIC SAID HE PERSONALLY THOUGHT IT MIGHT BE BETTER TO HAVE THE SPECIAL SESSION FIRST SO AS TO SET CLEARER GUIDELINES FOR THE WDC.

5. DCM STATED THAT SALT I AND II ARE MAKING STEP-BY-STEP PROGRESS IN LIMITING STRATEGIC ARMS. KRIVOKAPIC SAID HE WOULD WELCOME AN OCCASIONAL BRIEFING ON THE TALKS. YUGOSLAVIA KNOWS SOVIET UNION HAS AN INFLUENCE AT SALT BUT FRANCE, CHINA AND OTHER NWS ARE NOT INVOLVED. ALTHOUGH FRANCE IS FAR BEHIND THE US IN NUCLEAR WEAPONS DEVELOPMENT AND CHINA IS ONLY AT THE BEGINNING, IT WOULD BE IMPORTANT TO EXERT PRESSURE ON COUNTRIES WHICH ARE JUST ACQUIRING

NUCLEAR WEAPONS TECHNOLOGY. THIS CANNOT BE DONE IF THE GREAT POWERS ACCEPT HIGH LEVELS OF NUCLEAR ARMAMENT.

6. DCM NOTED THAT MBFR NEGOTIATIONS ARE ALSO IMPORTANT IN REDUCTION OF TENSIONS. AGREEING, KRIVOKAPIC STATED THAT DISARMAMENT , SECURITY , MILITARY BLOCS AND SIMILAR QUESTONS ARE ALL RELATED TO A SERIES OF WORLD PROBLEMS. POLITICAL DETENTE IS INDIVISBLE FROM MILITARY DETENTE. IF SOMETHING IS NOT DONE TO STOP THE ARMS RACE, YUGOSLAVIA SEES NO END TO IT. IT KNOWS THAT NO WEAPONS WILL COMPLETELY PROTECT IT. ONE COUNTRY ACQUIRES MIRV'S AND ANOTHER GETS THEM, AND SO IT GOES. MEANWHILE , EXPENDITURES ON ARMS CONTINUE TO ESCALATE. THE BIG COUNTRIES CAN MANAGE, BUT ECOSMALL COUNTRY LIKE YUGOSLAVIA FINDS THE COST OF WEAPONS UNBEARABLE.

COMMENT: JUST AS IT CLEAR FROM FOREGOING THAT YUGOSLAVS NOT ON VERGE OF WITHDRAWING FROM NPT, IT EQUALLY CLEAR THAT THEY WILL EXERT MAXIMUM LEVERAGE TO GAIN CONTROL OVER A VERTICAL AND HORIZONTAL SPREAD OF NUCLEAR WEAPONS WHICH THEY PERCEIVE AS BASIC THREAT TO THEIR SECURITY. (IN THIS CONNDOXTION LU HAVE REQUESTED DOD TO LAUNCH NEW STUDY OF NUCLEAR THREAT TO YUGOSLAVIA.) MOVE FROM NPT REQIEW CONFERENCE TO WORLD DISARMAMENT CONFERENCE OBVIOUSLY DUE TO FACT YUGOSLAVS WOULD HAVE GREATER INFLUENCE IN SUCH A THIRD WORLD DOMINATED FORUM. FINALLY, THIS IDEA ISSUE

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FOR NON-ALIGNED VENT RIGHTEOUS WRATH AGAINST SUPER-POWERS IN THEIR OVERALL DRIVE TO WEAKEN THE LATTER AND GET A BIGGER PIECE OF THE WORLD'S ACTION.

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Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptoning: X
Capture Date: 01 JAN 1994
Channel Indicators: n/a
Current Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Concepts: NUCLEAR ARMS CONTROL, NPT, FOREIGN POLICY POSITION
Control Number: n/a
Copy: SINGLE
Draft Date: 18 AUG 1975
Decaption Date: 01 JAN 1960
Decaption Note:
Disposition Action: RELEASED
Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Authority: GarlanWA
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Date: 28 MAY 2004
Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
Document Number: 1975BELGRA04330
Document Source: CORE
Document Unique ID: 00
Drafter: n/a
Enclosure: n/a
Executive Order: GS
Errors: N/A
Film Number: D750284-1078
From: BELGRADE
Handling Restrictions: n/a
Image Path:
ISecure: 1
Legacy Key: link1975/newtext/t19750841/aaaabujuj.tel
Line Count: 205
Locator: TEXT ON-LINE, ON MICROFILM
Office: ACTION INR
Original Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Original Handling Restrictions: n/a
Original Previous Classification: n/a
Original Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Page Count: 4
Previous Channel Indicators: n/a
Previous Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Reference: 75 STATE 187852
Review Action: RELEASED, APPROVED
Review Authority: GarlanWA
Review Comment: n/a
Review Content Flags:
Review Date: 08 APR 2003
Review Event:
Review Exemptions: n/a
Review History: RELEASED <08 APR 2003 by BoyleJA>; APPROVED <11 JUL 2003 by GarlanWA>
Review Markings:

Margaret P. Grafeld
Declassified/Released
US Department of State
EO Systematic Review
06 JUL 2006

Review Media Identifier:
Review Referrals: n/a
Review Release Date: n/a
Review Release Event: n/a
Review Transfer Date:
Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a
Secure: OPEN
Status: NATIVE
Subject: YUGOSLAV POLICY TOWARD THE NPT
TAGS: PARM, YO
To: STATE
Type: TE
Markings: Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 06 JUL 2006